

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 CU-02 BIB-01 STR-04 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-07 TRSE-00 SAJ-01
SCA-01 VO-03 IO-13 /100 W
----- 029277 /23 45

R 161231Z DEC 76
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2141
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
USMISSION BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL MUNICH
UMISSION NATO 4639
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 19609

TEL AVIV FOR AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, UR, US
SUBJECT: CSCE IMPLEMENTATION: SIXTH APPROACH TO SOVIETS

REF: (A) MOSCOW 18119, (B) STATE 298119

1. SUMMARY. CHARGE DELIVERED CSCE DEMARCHE TO MFA DEPUTY
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FOREIGN MINISTER KORNIYENKO ON DEC 14. WHILE WELCOMING
WHAT HE TERMED "SERIOUS APPROACH" TOWARD CSCE IMPLEMENTATION
WHICH IS REFLECTED IN U.S. SUGGESTIONS, KORNIYENKO NOTED
"DISPROPORTIONATE" ATTENTION GIVEN TO BASKET III ISSUES, POINTED
OUT LACK OF U.S. ACTION ON MFN OR VISAS FOR LABOR UNION
LEADERS, AND REPEATED STANDARD LINE ON U.S. SPECIAL

COMMISSION ON CSCE AND RL. HE SAID HE HOPED CSCE "DIALOGUE" WITH U.S. WOULD CONTINUE AND PROMISED A REPLY IN THE NEAR FUTURE, BUT MADE NO SUGGESTIONS OF HIS OWN. END SUMMARY.

2. CHARGE CALLED ON DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER KORNIYENKO DEC 14 TO DELIVER INFORMAL PAPER ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION. AFTER READING FULL TEXT AND ADDING ORAL COMMENTS SUGGESTED IN REF B, CHARGE STRESSED U.S. DESIRE TO MAINTAIN A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE AS PREPARATIONS FOR THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE GO FORWARD AND REITERATED THAT SOVIET COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR POSITIVE ACTION WOULD BE MOST USEFUL TO US.

3. KORNIYENKO RESPONDED THAT IN GENERAL HE THOUGHT PAPER SHOWED SERIOUS INTENT OF U.S. TO IMPLEMENT FINAL ACT AND TO CONDUCT CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE WITH SOVIETS. HE PROMISED TO EXAMINE U.S. IDEAS CLOSELY "WITH THE AIM OF CONTINUING THE DIALOGUE." HAVING MADE GENERAL POSITIVE COMMENT, HE THEN FLIPPED THROUGH PAPER AND GAVE FOLLOWING NEGATIVE REACTIONS "AT FIRST GLANCE" TO SPECIFIC POINTS.

-- PAPER SHOWS DISPROPORTIONATE ATTENTION TO BASKET III ISSUES THUS DISTORTING FINAL ACT WHICH MUST BE LOOKED AT AS WHOLE, WITH EQUAL EMPHASIS GIVEN TO ALL SECTIONS.

-- QUESTIONS OF TRADE DISCRIMINATION AND MFN ISSUES ARE TREATED TOO LIGHTLY BY U.S., AS IF THEY WERE ISSUES OF LESSER IMPORTANCE. OF COURSE ADMINISTRATION EFFORTS
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ARE "WELL KNOWN" (REFERRING TO PARA 21 A OF REF A TEXT), BUT THERE HAVE BEEN NO POSITIVE RESULTS THUS FAR. NO ACTION HAS BEEN TAKEN TO RESOLVE PROBLEM.

-- REGARDING U.S. REFUSAL TO GRANT VISAS TO SOVIET TRADE UNIONISTS (PARA 22A(6) OF REF A TEXT), HE ASKED RHETORICALLY IF USSR WAS WRONG TO POINT OUT WHAT IS TAKING PLACE JUST BECAUSE IT IS AWARE OF U.S. POSITION AND REASONS FOR IT.

-- RADIO LIBERTY BROADCASTS ARE UNACCEPTABLE INTERFERENCE IN SOVIET INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND ARE "FAR FROM BEING IN ACCORD WITH SPIRIT AND LETTER OF FINAL ACT."

-- THE CONGRESSIONALLY-MANDATED COMMISSION ON CSCE WAS CONTRARY TO THE SPIRIT OF THE FINAL ACT. THE ENABLING LEGISLATION MADE IT PLAIN THAT IT WAS AIMED ONLY AT INVESTIGATING HOW OTHER STATES IMPLEMENTED

FINAL ACT, NOT U.S. IMPLEMENTATION.

-- USE OF WORD "REVIEW" TO DESCRIBE BELGRADE
MEETINGS (PARA 11) IS NOT ACCURATE SINCE FINAL ACT ONLY
MENTIONS "EXCHANGE OF VIEWS" AT THESE MEETINGS.
EXCHANGES OF VIEWS DO NOT CONSTITUTE "REVIEW".

4. CHARGE RESPONDED THAT THERE WAS NO DISPROPORTION IN
U.S. ATTENTION TO IMPLEMENTATION OF FINAL ACT. IF THERE
ARE MORE SUGGESTIONS IN OUR PAPER IN SOME AREAS
THAN OTHERS, THIS REFLECTS OUR VIEW THAT SOME SECTIONS
HAVE BEEN MORE FULLY IMPLEMENTED THAN OTHERS AND THAT
PARTICULAR ATTENTION NEEDS TO BE DIRECTED AT THE LATTER
SO THAT IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL SECTIONS WILL BE MORE
UNIFORM. CHARGE ADDED THAT IF SOVIETS HAVE SUGGESTIONS
FOR ADDITIONAL STEPS IN AREAS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST
TO THEM, THESE WOULD BE MOST WELCOME AND WOULD BE
GIVEN CAREFUL CONSIDERATION.
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOW 19609

TEL AVIV FOR AMBASSADOR

5. REGARDING KORNIYENKO'S SPECIFIC POINTS,
CHARGE NOTED THAT IT IS APPROPRIATE, INDEED ESSENTIAL, TO
PROCEED FROM THE EXACT WORDING OF THE FINAL ACT.

-- AS FOR THE MFN QUESTION, THE FINAL ACT STATES
THAT THE PARTIES "RECOGNIZE THE BENEFICIAL EFFECTS"
OF MFN. USG IN FACT RECOGNIZES THE BENEFICIAL EFFECTS
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OF MFN AND ITS EFFORTS TO PROVIDE FOR IT ARE WELL
KNOWN. ALTHOUGH IT IS UNFORTUNATE THAT THESE EFFORTS
HAVE NOT YET BEEN SUCCESSFUL, IT IS INCORRECT TO CHARGE
THAT THE USG IS IN VIOLATION OF THE FINAL ACT IN THIS
REGARD.

-- SIMILARLY, THE LANGUAGE OF THE FINAL ACT DOES
NOT SUPPORT THE SOVIET CONTENTION THAT BROADCASTING
UNDER BIB IS INCONSISTENT WITH IT. INDEED, THE
SIGNATORIES PLEDGED TO PROMOTE THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE
DISSEMINATION OF BROADCAST INFORMATION. INTERFERENCE
WITH BROADCASTS CAN HARDLY BE RECONCILED WITH AN INTENT
TO PROMOTE THEIR DISSEMINATION.

-- OUR USE OF TERM "REVIEW MEETINGS" IN BELGRADE
CARRIES NO CONNOTATIONS REGARDING THE CHARACTER OF
THESE MEETINGS OTHER THAN THOSE IN THE FINAL ACT
ITSELF.

6. KORNIYENKO, ASSUMING MORE DEFENSIVE POSTURE AND
ENGAGING MORE IN DEBATE THAN DIALOGUE, INTERRUPTED TO
ARGUE THAT U.S. IMPLEMENTATION OF FINAL ACT HAS NOT
BEEN COMPLETE BUT THIS WAS NOT EXPECTED IN ONLY TWO
YEARS. THERE IS "NO TIME LIMIT SET FOR IMPLEMENTATION"
AND U.S. IMPLEMENTATION IS "YOUR AFFAIR" IMPLICATION:
SOVIET IMPLEMENTATION IS SOVIET AFFAIR). TURNING AGAIN
TO CSCE COMMISSION, KORNIYENKO MAINTAINED, STILL
PLEASANTLY BUT MORE HEATEDLY, THAT CONGRESS SHOULD
"LOOK AT YOUR OWN AFFAIRS." IT HAS "NO RIGHT" TO

"CONTROL" IMPLEMENTATION OF OTHER STATES. HE REITERATED SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO WORK WITH U.S., WITH NEW ADMINISTRATION, BUT THIS WILLINGNESS DOES NOT MEAN A CHANGE IN SOVIET POSITIONS ON ISSUES; THESE "WILL REMAIN THE SAME."

7. CHARGE EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT AT SOVIET NEGATIVE
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ATTITUDE TOWARD CSCE COMMISSION AND EXPRESSED OPINION THAT IT IS BASED ON A MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE COMMISSION'S PURPOSE. ITS CREATION WAS A REFLECTION OF SERIOUS CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN CSCE IMPLEMENTATION, IN WHICH CONGRESS HAS A LEGITIMATE ROLE TO PLAY. IT IS MOST UNFORTUNATE THAT SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS NOT BEEN WILLING TO DISCUSS ITS VIEWS WITH THE COMMISSION DIRECTLY.

8. CONVERSATION ENDED ON UPBEAT NOTE WITH MUTUAL EXPRESSIONS OF HOPE FOR CONTINUED EXCHANGES OF VIEWS. KORNIYENKO'S FINAL COMMENT, UNINTENTIONALLY IRONIC, CONCERNED NECESSITY TO FULLY IMPLEMENT "SPIRIT" OF FINAL ACT, ADDING THAT SOVIETS DO NOT THINK THAT "DEBATES" ARE HELPFUL ON THIS REGARD.

9. COMMENT: DESPITE HIS RAISING CONTENTIOUS POINTS, KORNIYENKO MAINTAINED A FRIENDLY ATTITUDE THROUGHOUT AND DID NOT RESORT TO THE SORT OF EMOTIONAL TIRADE IN WHICH HE OCCASIONALLY INDULGES. HIS RESPONSE STRUCK US AS OVERWHELMINGLY DEFENSIVE, AND CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS WERE NOTABLY ABSENT. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THE SOVIETS CAN BE INDUCED TO ACT ON SOME OF OUR SUGGESTIONS IF WE CONTINUE TO PURSUE THE DIALOGUE VIGOROUSLY. A FEW (SUCH AS MILITARY VISITS) THEY MAY IN FACT WELCOME. THEY WILL, HOWEVER, CONCEDE NO MORE THAN WHAT THEY JUDGE WILL BE MINIMALLY REQUIRED TO ENSURE THAT THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE DOES NOT BECOME A SHARP DEBATE WHICH WOULD UNDERMINE THEIR CLAIM THAT THE CSCE REPRESENTED A MAJOR TRIUMPH OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. MATLOCK

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